SERMON PREACHED

Before the KINGS most Excellent MAJESTIE, in the Cathedrall Church of DURHAM,

Vpon Sunday, being the fifth day of May. 1639.

By the Right Reverend Father in God, THOMAS Lord Bishop of DURESME.

Published by his Majesties speciall command.

Imprinted at Newcastle upon *Tyne*, by ROBERT BARKER, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie: And by the Assignes of IOHN BILL.

1639.

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ROM. XIII. 1.

Let every ſoule be ſubject to the higher Powers.

THis argument of *Subjection* is the ſubject matter of the Epiſtle for this day, 1. *Pet.* 2. which I have transferred to this Text of S. *Paul*, onely for more apt method and manifeſtation-ſake; which how ſeaſonable it is, for the occaſions of this unſeaſonable and diſmall time, alas! it is too evident: a Time, I ſay, wherein the *ſeditious Faction* profeſſeth forcible *Reſiſtance* againſt Soveraignty, for *defence of Religion*. Now therfore this Text being a divine *Canon* of Chriſtian *Subjection*, it will be eaſie hereby (through Gods aſſiſtance) to pull off the vizard of pretence of *Religion* from the viſage and face of

Rebellion it ſelfe. I propound to my ſelfe this Theme to be diſcuſſed, to wit, *That armes are not to be taken [illegible] up by Subiects, for defence of Religion*: for the *Canon* it ſelfe teacheth us, 1. *Who* is the *Subiect*; [*Let* EVERY SOVLE *be Subiect.*] 2. *To whom*; [*To the higher* POWERS.] 3. The *Why*, [For there is *no power but of* GOD, *and the powers that be are of* GOD.] Next, becauſe Contraries, being compared together, illuſtrate each other, the Apoſtle uſeth this art; for having preſcribed *Subiection*, he delivereth the Contrary, which he calleth *Reſiſtance*, [Whoſoever *reſiſteth.*] This he ſhewveth what it is, both in the heinouſneſſe of the *Crime*, [*He reſiſteth the Ordinance of* GOD;] and alſo in the dreadfulneſſe of the *Iudgement*, [*He ſhall receive to himſelfe* DAMNATION.] Theſe are the five ſtages of our future proceeding, which I therefore ſo name, becauſe my purpoſe is (God willing) to haſten through them with all convenient * ſpeed.

* And ſo it was then, the ſhortnes of an houre requiring it: but now the Sermon is enlarged, for the better ſatisfaction of the Reader, and that by Royall command.

I. Part,

I. Part. Who, [*Every ſoule.*]

Every ſoule.] By *Soule* underſtanding (by a Synechdoche, as all know) the whole perſon of man, as often elſe-where in holy Writ. But what, *Every ſoule ſubiect?* Not I, ſaith the *Pope*, and ſo all Popes of after-times, for we have power over all *Powers*, be they *Emperours* themſelves, to kick off their Crowns with our feet; to depoſe their perſons, and to diſpoſe of their Kingdomes. Nor we, ſay the *Popiſh Clergy*, for our function is ſpirituall, and therefore doth in it ſelfe, in all caſes, challenge *Exemption*. Nor we, ſay the *ſeditious Conſpirators*, in the caſe of defence of our Religion.

I have therefore joyned the *Romiſh*, and theſe other *Factious* together, that it may be knowne, that although the *Romiſh*, and the Church of *Scotland*, whereof theſe Conſpirators would be members, do diſſent in *Religion*, no leſſe than *Antiquity* and *Novelty* (for thoſe points, whereof the new *Romane Church* have made a new Creed of moe then XII. new Articles of Faith) and differ alſo as much in ſome parts of Gods worſhip, as *Religious* from *Superſtitious* and *Idolatrous*: notwithſtanding they

agree in this one Conclusion of professing *violent Resistance*, for *defence of Religion*; and in the most *Principles conducing thereunto: insomuch that the Conspirators, who otherwise hate our *Church Ceremonies* (albeit most *Indifferent*, and in use *Laudable*) even because they seem to them *Papisticall*; do nevertheless, for confirming their seditious Conclusions, alleage saying in these very termes; *The Papists are witnesses, &c.*

* Principles which have been collected out of the Books of the Romish sect, and papers of the Conspirators, received from an authentique hand of an honourable Lord in Scotland, and intituled, *The Times require that the points following be pressed upon the people, &c.*

Howbeit this *Canon* doth, in effect, give them Both the lie, because the word *Soule* signifieth the whole man; and seeing there is no man either so *Spirituall*, or *Secular*, but he hath an immortall *Soule*, incorporate in a mortall body, it must follow that every man is obliged both body and soule to subject himselfe to the *Higher Powers*. And what *Powers* these are, the Context pointeth out by their Symbol and Ensigne, namely of him that *carieth the Sword*, even the temporall Magistrate.

And that this doctrine was both professed and practized throughout the whole Christian Church for above 600. yeeres, is manifoldly manifested by Evidences registred in all Ecclesiasticall

clesiasticall Records, whether they concerne the *Greek* or *Romane Church*. But we, at this present, may content our selves with two kinds, one from the Greeks, even in their * Commentaries upon this Text [*Let every soule, &c.*] That is, say they, *Every Apostle, Evangelist, Prophet, &c.* If every *Apostle* must be subject, then *Peter*, then his *Successor*, (every Pope) then every *Popish Ecclesiastick*. As for the *Secular*, it followeth in *Chrysostome*, [*hostis ouin &c.*] *Every other whosoever, &c.* Which is an acknowledged truth even of their owne *Espensæus*, saying, * *What Greeke Authors did not hold, that the Apostle hereby taught, that all the faithfull were to be subiect to worldly Governours?*

* *Chrysost.* and after him, *Theod. Euthem. Oecum. Theoph.*

* *Apostolus docet omnes credentes mundi Potestatibus esse subjectos, nempe, sive Apostolus, &c. — ut tenet Chrysost. Euthym. Theod. & qui non Græci?* Espen. in Tit. 3. 1. digress. 10. pag. 513. Paris Anno 1568.

II. Concerning the Romane Church, what need more then the *Epistles of ancient Popes, yet extant, which they writ to the Emperours of their severall ages for above 700. yeeres, all * agreeable to the stile of *Pope Gregory* the first, surnamed the *Great*, in his Epistle unto

*Epistles, which are recorded by *Binius*, as of Pope *Leo* the first, Epist. 26. & 35. of *Simplicius* the first, Ep. 4. of *Felix* the third, Ep. 2. of *Anastasius* the first, Ep. 78. of *Pelagius* the first. Ep. 16. These before *Gregory*, and after him *Martinus* the first, Ep. 3. *Agatho* the first, Ep. ad Heraclium, *Hadrian* the first, Ep. ad Constant. Anno 770. * As is to be seene in my Booke intituled, *Causa Regia*.

the

the Emperour *Mauritius*, somewhat vexatious unto him, after this tenour, * *Ego indignus famulus tuus Iussioni tuæ subjectus. i. I your unworthy servant am subiect to your command.* Here you heare his profession, will you see it in his practice? The same holy Pope being commanded by the same Emperour to proclaime an Edict, which although *Gregory* thought it to be unlawfull in it selfe, yet held it necessary for himselfe to publish it thorowout his Diocesse; that done, he rendereth the Emperour this his account, * *Serenissimis Iussionibus tuis obedientiam præbui. i. I have obeyed your Maiesties commands.*

*Greg lib. 2 Epi. 21.

*Idem ibid. Epi. 32.

As for the other *Romane*, both *People* and *Clergie*, one would thinke that the dedication of this Epistle [*To the* Romanes] might instruct them to know their duties, thus, * *To all that are at* Rome, *beloved of God, called Saints.* What? (even this *Canon* as well as any of the Epistle else) [*Let every soule be subiect to the higher Powers.*] Thus, Then, but contrarily Now; and therefore so much is the Church of *Rome*, in point of Subiection, degenerated from it selfe, so farre as that (divers hundred yeeres after this Pope *Gregory*) when the Archbishop of

*Rom. 1.7.

Sens in France challenged the priviledge of Immunity from all Subiection to the King, he was encountred by S. *Bernard*, and arrested by vertue of this *Canon* of [*Omnis Anima*] saying, *Forget you what is written? Let every soule be subiect to the higher powers.* [*Qui te tentat excipere, tentat decipere.*] *i. He that seekes to exempt, doth but labour to delude and seduce you.* Finally, when as the Pastors of the Church Catholike performed *Subiection* themselves, for more then 600. yeeres after Christ, it can be no question but they catechized their people in the same *Canon* and Article of Christian loyalty. This case being so plaine, that any man may understand the necessity of subiection in *Every man*, our next Quære must be, To *Whom?* and the Canon saith in the next

Bern. Ep. ad Epi. Senonensem.

II. Part. [*To the higher Powers.*]

THere were almost in all ages of the world divers kinds of *Powers* and *Governments*, which I neede not rehearse, but the principall ever was the *Monarchicall*; whether it were by *Conquest*, *Election*, *Inheritance* (as the firmest) or otherwise: and in the Monarchi-

call have alwaies bin divers degrees of *Powers*, yet so, that one was *Supreme*, and the other *Subordinate*, which S. *Peter* doth distinctly expresse,

1 Pet. 2. 3. **Be ye subject to the King [hos hyperekonti] as to the Supreme*: And to (his) *Governours, as them that are sent of him*. I should now procede, but the "Conspirators do interrupt me, saying, *That a "difference would be put betweene private persons, "taking armes for Resistance, and inferiour Magi-"strates, Iudges, Counsellers, Nobles, Peeres of the "land, Barons, Burgesses, &c.* Where they confesse, that the Magistrates, Iudges, Nobles, &c. are all *Inferior* to the *King*: and yet argue, from the *Combination* of all these, for *Resistance* by armes. Now hearken we to the Canon, [*Let Every soule be subject to the Higher Powers*] but Inferiors are under the Monarch, as the *Higher*, and so are they confounded out of their owne mouthes. But They and the Romish descend yet lower, as we shall finde, in discussing the Reason *Why* we ought to be subject to the *higher Powers*, which is the next Point, and

III. Part.

III. Part, [*For there is no Power but of God: the Powers that be are ordained of God.*]

THerefore it is plaine (say we) God requireth a loyall *Subjection*. Here againe both the *Romish Seducers* and these *Conspirators* conspire together in defence of another *Principle*, to wit, when they have no power of Resistance in themselves, then to envenome and intoxicate the braines of the people with an opinion that the Power is in them to *Resist* by violence, when there shall be *Occasion*. So say the Romish, but why? because, forsooth, * *Maiestie is seated in the People, because the Princes are made by consent of the People*, and because S. *Peter* calleth them *Humane Creatures*. Accordingly the Conspirators, as if they meant to be the Disciples of Papists, their words are "these: *The people originally make the Magistrate,* "*and not the Magistrate the people*. And (all this being supposed) their Conclusion is, for *Defence of Religion* against *Magistrates* by the *power of*

* Parsons in his Dolman, the French Iesuit. Lib. de jure Abdicationis; *Majestas regni sita est magis in populo, quam in persona Regis.* Pag. 36. Didymus; *Non populus in Principium gratiam factus, sed Principes in populi gratiam creati.* Rainoldus de justa Authoritate, *Rex humana Creatura est, quia ab hominibus constituta.* The moderate Answer to Doctor Morton; *People made election of Kings, &c.*

the People. Then which there could not be uttered a more *fond, false* or *pernicious* Conclusion, as the Canon it selfe will shew from point to point.

I. *Fond*, for what saith the Canon? *The Powers that be are* [*tetagmenai*] *ordained of God*, that is, orderly constituted: but if, when the *People* have constituted a Ruler over them, there remaineth in them a power dormant, upon *Occasion*, to over-rule, and un-king, and unmake him, to whom they are *Subiects*; this were as unorderly and ougly a confusednesse, in the Body politique, as it would be in the Bodie naturall to stand on it's head with the heeles upwards. Their other Obiection is out of S. *Peter*, for calling Magistracie an *Humane Creature*, because of the Choice of the People; as if therefore by the same humane and popular liberty it might be dissolved: it is frivolous, because S. *Peter* addeth there, Be ye subject unto (the same) *humane Creature, for the Lords sake.* 1 Pet. 2. 13.

II. If the Doctrine be *fond*, it must needs be *False*, and that more evidently by that which shall be opposed against it in the Canon, which saith, [*hai ousai exousiai*] *The powers that be are of God*: [*Powers that be.*] *Are* they then once esta-

blished?

blished? then whatsoever the Government *be*, they *are* of God, *God* owneth them, they may not be disturbed. For as Silver, whilest it is mere Plate, if it be tendred for Exchange, may be either taken, or not, by the party to whom it is offered: but if it once receive the Kings stampe, and be coyned, it is currant money, and may not be refused. Or as Acts of Parliament, whilest they are but voted, are but onely *Consents*, but after they have the Kings Royall assent, they become *Statutes*, which may not be transgressed. So is it in Governments; as soone as any is [*Ctisis anthropine*] *created by man* (as S. Peter calleth it) it becommeth (thus S. Paul) [*Diatage tou theou*] *Gods Ordinance*, and may not be Resisted.

This Lesson our Saviour Christ taught all Christians, by his owne example, who although he were *Lord* of *Lords*, and *King of Kings*; yet making himselfe (as man) *subiect to higher Powers*, he would acknowledge them, both in the *Supreme Magistrate*, and therefore he *paid* * *Tribute to Cæsar*: and in *his Deputy Pilate, as Subordinate*, to whom he giveth testimony of his divine right, that he had his *Power from above*, namely from God. Which thing is

* Matt. 17. 27.

Ioh. 19. 11.

so evident, that some * Popish Divines could not but perceive it.

* Royard in dom. in 1. Advent. *Rege constituto, non potest populus jugum Subjectionis repellere.* Et Cunerus lib. de Offic. Principis; *Sive electione, sive postulatione, vel successione, vel belli jure Princeps fiat, Principi tamen facto divinitus potestas datur.*

Lastly here is made visible the Pernitiousnesse of this Infatuation by the [*makaira*] in the fourth verse, [*He carieth the Sword,*] to wit, *One* chiefe *Governor*, but *One sword*: for albeit there be Governours under Governours, moe or fewer, yet because the *Subordinate* are dependant, All upon the *chiefe One*, and do execute capitall punishment in the name and authority of the *Highest*, All are accounted but *One Sword*; and *Subalterna non contradicunt*. But when as the people shall be making forcible *Resistance*, there must be clashing of *sword* against *Sword*. Nay, and by this their learning, which we now heare, the *Sword* is wrested out of the hand of the *King*, and put into the power of the *People*, that is, into the hand of a *Madman*. I have said this, and have good warrant for it; for when King *David*, in the like case, —(like Case? nay never was the like Case heard of, namely, that a King was so iniuriously *cheated* of a Kingdome) when King *David*

vid, I say, was delivered from the Contradiction of his people, he giveth thanks to God, that as he * *Stilled the raging waves of the Sea, so he repressed the Tumults of the People.* Comparing hereby the Tumultuousnesse of the *People* to the Raging waves of the Sea; and is therefore translated in our Church-booke, more emphatically, *The madnes of the People. O mercifull, and powerfull God! grant, we beseech thee, the like experience of thy deliverance, out of the outragious Contradiction of the people, unto our gratious Soveraigne, that He may likewise praise thee, the Lord of hosts, in the great Congregation!* I proceed unto the Contrariety to Loyall Subiection, which is called *Resistance* in the

*Psal. 65. 7.

IV. Part of this *Canon*; [*Whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God.*]

IN these words you may perceive an Act, which is *Resistance* of Magistracie, and the Crime therin, which is *Resisting the ordinance of God.* It is not, He that *obeyeth not*, but, [*He that resisteth*:] for there may be a lawfull, yea and a necessary *not-Obeying*, as whensoever the immortall

immortall God ſhall *Command* any thing, and any Power on earth ſhall give it a *Countermand*, then muſt the Law of the earthen and mortall God be rejected, iuſtly. To this purpoſe the Example of *Daniel* is regiſtred in holy writ. A law was ſigned by King *Darius*, that none ſhould make any *Petition* to God, for certaine daies, *Daniel* diſobeyeth this law, he is caſt to the Lions to be devoured, he is delivered by Gods Angel: *Darius* congratulateth his Deliverance, and *Daniel* iuſtifieth his former Diſobedience, ſaying, *Vnto thee, O King, have I done no hurt*. Kings are not to thinke it any injury, or derogation to their Royalty, that the King of Kings be rather obeyed.

Dan.6.

King *Solomon* ſaw the Equity hereof, when diſtinguiſhing of *Heights of powers* (in the Caſe of oppreſſion of the people by uniuſt Iudges) he ſaid, *There is Higher then they*: meaning the King, whom in that reſpect alſo he calleth *The Higheſt on earth*, to whom the Subiect might appeale: but if the King will not, then to know that there is one *Higher then the Higheſt*, even God. Thereby teaching *Inferiours* that they muſt ſtill vaile to the *Higheſt*. And our *Canon*, which will have us ſubiect to the *Higher Powers*,

Eccleſ.5.8.

ers, before the *lower* among men, doth by *Analogie* instruct us principally to be Subiect to *that Higher Power*, by whom *these Powers* are, namely (as saith the *Canon*) *By the Ordinance of God.* A case clearly resolved long since by the Apostles; for Christ had commanded his Disciples, to *Go, and teach in his Name*; the Jewish Sanhedrin inhibiteth them, saying, **Teach no more in that name*: they rejoyne, *Whether it be better to obey God or Man, judge you.* An answer so Rationall, Conscionable, and Irrefragable, by referring it to the Iudgement and Conscience of whatsoever Adversary, that had any knowledge of God, as that it was an impregnable convincement. But we never reade of a lawfull *Resistance* to Governours, whereof the Canon here speaketh; for it is called a *Resistance of Powers*, and therefore it intimateth and withall condemneth a Powerfull violent *Resistance*, whether it be made by Persons *invaded*, or else by Persons *invading*; for these two are to be differenced.

* Act. 4. 18, 19.

The *Conspirators* (whatsoever else they might inwardly intend) do openly professe not to use any violence by Armes, untill they shall be *invaded*: and therefore it is, that they

palliate this their Oppoſition with the name of a *Defenſive Reſiſtance*; repeating againe and againe the word, *Defence*. Hereupon I am compelled to take up that Outcry of *Tully* againſt *Tubero*, for bringing men into the field, armed with Speares and Swords, *Quis ſenſus armorum?* (ſaith he) What other *meaning* can mortall *weapons* have then mortall wounds? except the *Conſpirators* would have us thinke, that there is more mercy in Muskets and Canons, then there could be in Swords and Speares: or that, if our *King* ſhould be conſtrained (which God forbid!) to diſpute his Right by Armes, they would defend themſelves without blowes and bloodſhed. It will be no excuſe for them, that there is a Generation more rebellious then they, who *invade* before they be *invaded*, and that alſo in pretence of *Religion*.

Theſe I need not name, they are to all the world ſo viſible, both by *publike Invaſions*, and *treacherous Aſſaſſinations*. For it is needleſſe to reckon up unto you the Romiſh often machinations to raiſe publike Inſurrections: the Curſe of God upon the laſt *Northerne* Rebellion is felt of this Countrey Inhabitants even at this

Day.

Day. As for Assassinates, by Popish and Iesuiticall Suggesters, the miseries of *France*, and horror at the sight of their *Kings*, wallowing in their gore-blood; the ioy of *England*, for Gods manifold and miraculous Deliverances to our last *Queene*, and *King* of blessed memorie, together with the whole State of this *Kingdome*, doe fully proclame. O that both these Spirits of Rebelliousnesse would now at the last abhorre the mischiefe of all *Violent Resistance*, by Consideration of the Grievousnesse of the Crime! which in the next place is to be spoken of, [*He that resisteth the Power*,] what?

[*Resisteth the Ordinance of God*] That is, Resisteth God himselfe.

WHence we collect a Condemnation both of *Actuall Resistance*, and an *Habituall Purpose of Resisting*. Touching the former, both the *Romish Seducers* and the *Conspirators* oppose, affirming and teaching, *viz.* If that Kings shall proove either Tyrants to their owne people, or else Persecuters of the Professors of Religion, then Subiects may arme themselves, and make hostile Resistance.

This Doctrine is most notorious in the Romish Schooles. The *Conspirators*, inspired with the same Spirit, will needs be thought to have an advantage from the verses following, because the *Subjection*, here required, is prescribed in behalfe of *Governors*; who are said to be such *Rulers*, who are *not a Terrour to Good workers*, but to *Evill*: who are *Ministers of God for Good*, and *Revengers to execute vengeance on them that doe Evill*. Hence the Conspirators; *But Tyranny "and vniust violence* (say they) *is not the Ordinance "of God, and he that resisteth it, resisteth not the "Ordinance of God: for such Rulers are a Terrour "to good Workers, but not to Evill. And the whole "course of the Apostles Argument runs against Re- "sistance of lawfull Power, commanding things good. "We must therefore acknowledge Tyrannie to be the "Ordinance of God, and for good, or extrude it from "the Apostles Argument.* Thus we see the *Ministers* among the *Conspirators*, as Drummers in the Campe, strike up their *Alarme* to war and violence, and bewitch mens soules with that Sophistication, which is called *Ignoratio Elenchi*. And this Poyson likewise they have suckt out of the quils of *Romish Sophisters*. That this may appeare to very Novices in religion, I shall give

give to our Adversaries their foure Obiections foure punctuall Answers.

The first is, That the *Powers*, to whom *Subiection* is required, by this *Canon*, were indeed *Tyrants* to their owne Subiects, and *Persecuters* of the Christian Professors. For were not these *Powers* heathen *Governors*? were not the most of them cruell Tyrants? were they not all professed Enemies to the Christian faith? and Persecuters of the Professors thereof? This cannot be denyed; but if any mans ignorance should gainsay it, we might instance in the Emperour *Nero*, who was the *highest Power* in the world at this time. He, after the fift yeare of his Empire, became so bloody a *Tyrant*, even to his owne heathenish people, that they branded him with the black marke of a *Monster*. And he was so vile and violent an Opposer of Christian Religion, that his Raigne hath beene registred ever since by Christians to have beene their *First fierie Persecution*; whereof the holy Pen-man of this Epistle felt some sparkles: for *Ephes.* 3. he displayeth himselfe, saying, *I Paul a Prisoner of Iesus Christ*. Whence was that Epistle written? the Subscription thereof saith, *From* Rome. And the like we reade in the Epistle

to *Philemon*. All this notwithstanding, S. *Paul* requireth *Subiection* to this, and to all Other never so Tyranous Governours. With what front or face then could these Romish, and other Seducers distort this Text, for proofe of a Rebellious Conclusion?

Their second *Ignorance* (if yet it may be called Ignorance) is, that they discerne not this "their Inconsequence, viz. *The Canon exacteth "subjection to Governours that are no Terrour to "good Workers.* Ergo, *To those that are a Ter-"rour to good Workers, they owe no Subjection.* Iust as if, in Catechizing Children in their dutie to their Parents, they should instruct them, saying, Divine Scripture commandeth you to reverence your Parents, who bring you up in the feare of the Lord: *Ergò* if your Parents shall vexe you, in your good Doings, you must not yeeld any Reverence unto them.

Thirdly, they will not see, that there is a temporall Good redounding unto Subiects, even under most tyrannous Governours. I say againe, They will not see it, who name *Calvin*, as standing for them: but onely name him, alleaging no place. Now, will any doubt but that when they argued from this Text, they

did

did consult with *Calvin* upon it, then whom (upon this place) they could not have a greater Adversary? He saith, indeed, that the Text requireth *Subiection to Governours*, for the *Good-sake* that *Government* bringeth: but doth he contrarily conclude a *no-subiection*, if they shall peradventure degenerate and turne *Tyrants*? His words are, * *Etiamsi non rarò degenerant, qui Principatum tenent, nihilominùs deferenda est eis Obedientia, quæ Principibus debetur.* That is, *Although they should degenerate from the office of good Magistrates, yet is the Obedience due unto Princes to be performed to them.* But our Conspirators acknowledge no *Good* in the Government of any *Tyrant*; notwithstanding that, *Calvin* instructeth his Reader in this point also, * *Quanquàm, nè sic quidem abstuntur potestate suâ Principes, bonos innocentésque vexando, ut non aliquandò ex parte speciem aliquam justæ dominationis retineant. Nulla ergo Tyrannis esse potest, quæ non aliquâ ex parte subsidio sit, ad tuendam hominum Societatem.* This his iudgement is worth the translating. *Nevertheless* (saith he) *Princes, in vexing good and innocent Subiects, doe not so far abuse their authority, but that they preserve some part of iust Government. Therefore there can be no Tyranny;*

* Calvin in locum.

* Ibid.

Tyranny, which may not in some degree be an Helpe and Aid to the common weale.

So *Peter Martyr*, commenting upon the same Text, hath these words; *Nisi Tyranni sævissimi aliquam habeant rationem juris, potentiam illam suam retinere non possent.* And it is very true; for if *Tyrants* should not uphold the publike Iustice and Peace, in some degree, they themselves could not subsist or support themselves. He instanceth in *Nero*, *Cùm ipse Imperio suo opprimeret orbem terrarum, tamen jus dicebatur, nec vis legum funditus eversa erat è rebus humanis.* The difference therefore, in this Case, betweene the *Incendiaries* and *Calvin*, is no more nor lesse then this; They say that the *Argument* of the Apostle *Extrudeth* (it is their own word) *Subiection to Tyrannous Governours*: But Hee denieth this. And They reject the said *Governours*, as if they were void of all publike Iustice: But He saith, there was never any such *Tyrannie* heard off.

A fourth Crotchet they have, namely, that "*If we be subiect to Tyrants, then must we confesse* "*that Tyrannie is the Ordinance of God.* So they collect, for want of Spectacles, for so may we call a Distinction; *Potestas Commissionis &*

Ordinatio

Per

Permiſſionis; one and the ſame man having Both: *Nero* a King, by Gods Ordinance of *Commiſſion*: the ſame *Nero* a Tyrant, by Gods *Permiſſion*; yet Permiſſion not *Speculative* onely, but *Ordinative*, which uſeth a *Tyrant* for to be his *Flagellum*, A whip for ſcourging the Wicked, as Scripture teacheth: and as God himſelfe avoucheth of himſelfe, by his Prophet, ſaying, * *I gave them a King in my wrath.* *Oſe 13.11
Take you, for Inſtance, unjuſt *Pilate*, (of whom you have heard) who albeit, by Gods *Permiſſion*, an uniuſt Governour, yet is acknowledged to be, by Gods *Commiſſion* and *Ordinance*, a *Governour*, as one * *having his power from Above.* *Ioh. 19.11 And thus is the maine Fort and Bulwark of both the Romiſh and Seditious Conſpirators utterly demoliſhed, touching *Actuall Reſiſtance*, even againſt *Tyrants* themſelves; how much more againſt the *Nurſing Father* of our Church, who is no way liable to ſo wicked an Imputation, as will hereafter appeare. The ſecond kinde of *Reſiſtance* is that, which we called *Habituall*, in a *Purpoſe of Reſiſting*; of which now.

This I note, becauſe of another notorious Principle, held by both our Conſpirators.

For the *Romish*, They allow their Professors sometime to *performe Subiection to Protestant Princes*, but it is under this *Parenthesis* of onely *[The Case thus standing: and, Vntill there be force to resist.]* Which Lesson the *Conspirators* may seeme to have learned, who, whilest they wanted force, stood upon good termes of peace and *Subiection*: but no sooner were they furnished with Armes, but they began to threat; which is as wilde and vile a piece of Learning as the former, and cometh now to be Confuted both by *Text* and *Context*.

* *Sit Cautio adhibenda, ut vires habeant ad hoc idoneas subditi, alioqui in Religionis Catholicæ præjudicium cederet.* Creswell in his Philopater. Againe, *Subditi Obedientiam suam præbeant Reginæ pro præsenti rerum statu.* Ibid. *Modo vires eis suppetant.* Banes in Thom. 2. qu. 12. Art. 2. So also others of them.

The *Text* saith *[Omnis Anima,] Let every Soule be subiect*: the Reason why the Denomination of the whole man is given *[Animæ]* to the *Soule* (as *Aquinas* glosseth) is, *Because Subiection should be [ex animo.]* Secondly, It is called the *Ordinance of God*, who is the *Searcher of the Heart*, because he saith, concerning Obedience to himselfe, *Give me thy Heart*. And that he will have as due *Subiection* to cruell *Governours*, as *Obedience* of *Servants* to their froward *Masters*, none will make question. But concerning the duty of Servants towards their

Masters,

Masters, Saint *Peter* enioyneth them to be *Obedient [*scolios despotais*] *to their froward and perverse Masters.* And S. *Paul*, *That they* * *serve not onely the eye of the Master, but in singlenesse of heart, as unto Christ*: For otherwise it is but *brutish*, like to the service of * *Horse and Mule, whose mouth must be holden with bit and bridle.* Lastly, the *Context* acknowledgeth, concerning Subiects; It is necessary you be *subiect*, not for *feare* onely (namely, of the *Temporall sword*) but for *Conscience-sake* also: that is, for feare of *Gods vengeance*, which this *Canon* denounceth against obstinate *Resistants*, as is now to be unfolded in the last Part of this *Canon*.

*1 Pet. 2. 18

* Ephes. 6. 6

*Psal. 32. 10.

I. [*They that resist shall receive to themselves* DAMNATION.]

THe Transgression being so heinous, the Iudgement must needs be grievous, and so (indeed) it is thrice-dreadfull. Once, as being *Intolerable*, signified in the word [*Damnation*;] wherein are comprised the two Extremities of Punishment: one of *Paine*, which in Scripture is shadowed under the Metaphor of *Fire*: the other the Extremity of

Continuance, for Time, expreſſed in the Epither, [*Everlaſting.*] Next is the *Vnavoidableneſſe* thereof, as it is in the *Canon*, [*ſhall receive damnation.*] To wit, Although ſuch Reſiſtants ſhall eſcape the Edge of mortall Powers, yet if *Giant*-like they will needs [*theomakein*] *Reſiſt God*, he will at length be too hard for them, They ſhall infallibly *Receive Damnation*. Laſtly, the Iudgement will be moſt *juſt*, to make them inexcuſable, for ſo ſaith the *Canon*, [*They ſhall receive damnation to themſelves.*] That is to ſay, they ſhall be found guilty of their owne *Damnation*, be their Pretences in this life never ſo ſpecious, as indeed they are.

For both the *Romiſh*-and the *Conſpirators* hold (reſpectively) that They, who ſhall die in their quarrels, are in the ſtate of *Martyrs*. Their Principles likewiſe agree, firſt becauſe they fight for *Conſcience-ſake*. But why this? *Becauſe it is* [*in ordine ad Deum.*] Yet why thus? becauſe in the *Defence of Religion*. So they. And ſo their many *Deductions* are ſo many *Seductions and deluſions*, as the *Canon* will particularly and plainly diſcover. 1. To pretend *Conſcience* for *Reſiſtance*, albeit the Apoſtle here in the ver. 5. teacheth, that it is *Neceſſary to be ſubiect even for*

Conſcience-

Conſcience-ſake. 2. [*In ordine ad Deum*] that is, *In zeale to Gods glory*: as if that could be called [*In ordine ad Deum*] which (as the Canon hath it) is a *Reſiſtance againſt the Ordinance of God.* Laſtly, to ſay that they *Reſiſt for Religion-ſake*, knowing that *Religion* is in Adherence to the revealed will of God, and that there can be nothing more revealed than this *Canon* of a generall *Subjection to the Higheſt Powers*: as alſo the Reaſon againſt *Reſiſtance*, in reſpect of the *Crime*, which is, *Reſiſting Gods Ordinance*: and much more in regard of the *Iudgement*, which is *Damnation* it ſelfe. And therefore can ſuch *Reſiſtants*, dying in their *Rebellious quarrels*, be but *Black-Saints* or *Martyrs*: even as divers in the Church of *Rome* have beene, whom (notwithſtanding) their Writers doubt not to *Beatifie* in their Books at large, even in theſe our times. One I dare be bold to name, *Garnet* the Ieſuite, whom I knew at his Arraignment to confeſſe, that he heard of the *Powder-Treaſon* out of *Confeſſion*, and therefore was worthy of Iudgement, and at his death he publikely exhorted the *Romiſh Profeſſors* to avoid all *Acts of Treaſon.*

Now therefore it being confeſſed, on all

sides, that it is not *Pœna*, but *Causa* that *Canonizeth a Martyr*; we see by this once Instance how prone the *Romish* Professors are to adopt for *Martyrs*, as dying for *Conscience-sake*, those who confessed themselves to die *for guilt against their Conscience*: except, in so Confessing, they do but *Æquivocate*, and if so, then but *Æquivocall Martyrs*.

But to come to the determination of the present Cause, by two *Positions* against aswell the intituled *Romish holy-Leaguers*, as the *Religious Covenanters*. The first is, that the Soldier of Christ his fight, for Religion, must not be by Worldly force. The Word [*Sacrament*] originally among the Romans was a Military terme, signifying the *Sacred Oath* taken by the Soldier, to be faithfull in his service under his Generall; and after translated, to notifie our *Sacred Mysteries*: as, at first, our holy Vow in Baptisme, for professing of our faith in Christ, by holines of life, in imitation of *our Generall Christ Iesus*. He in generall proclameth, saying, * *My Kingdome is not of this world, else would my servants fight*; which was spoken in Relation of himselfe to his *Disciples*, and therefore we see he would not have them fight, no not for himselfe.

*Ioh. 18. 36.

selfe. But would any of his *Servants* seeke to destroy Any for his sake? Yes, the *Boanerges* (*sonnes of Thunder*) would have done so for his honour, when they desired *fire from heaven to destroy the Samaritans*, for their Contempt against their *Master*; because of his *Religion*, for that he seemed to them to have set his *face towards Ierusalem*: that is, to have a purpose to goe up to the feast, there to solemnize the worship of the true God; but were corrected by our *General*, saying * *Ye know not of what spirit ye are of; I came not to destroy.*

* Luke 55. 56.

And what then shall the *Romish* answer for their *Boanerges*, *sonnes of Powder*, who not *asking* for, but *acting and working* a Fornace of fire in a hollow vault, as from Hell, to consume at once the *King*, and the whole Representative state of this *Kingdome* with a Blast? * *A Treason* (saith one of their owne Historians) *of all other which either in our, or in any former age hath beene recorded, for Immanity most monstrous, no age ever hatched the like.* So he. Or what will they answer for the Patron of all Assassinates, Pope *Urbane* the second, (called by the Nickname of *Turbane*) who made a Publike Edict against those who should be excommunicated by the

* Thuanus anno Dom. 1605.

Romish

Romish Church, (as* all Protestants are at this day) authorizing Private Persons to murder them, saying, * *Non enim eos Homicidas arbitramur, quos adversus Excommunicatos, zelo Catholicæ matris ardentes, eorum quoslibet trucidasse contigerit, &c.* Another servant of Christ, to rescue his Master, would needs draw his Sword, strike and wound an Officer of the Iews, but was rebuked thus; * *Put up thy Sword, for All that take the Sword, shall perish by the Sword*: (that is) ought to perish by it.

*Bulla Cœnæ. *Nos excommunicamus omnes Lutheranos, Hugenottos, Zwinglianos, &c.*

* Vrban 2. Papa Rescript. de Occisoribus Excommunicatorum, ad Godfridum: extat apud Ivonem.

*Mat. 26. 52

The second *Position* may be this, that Christians ought, in defence of their Christian profession, to imitate Christ their Generall in *Passive Obedience*, in resisting the wicked world, by dying for the Christian Faith and Religion, whensoever the *Alarme* for Martyrdome shall be heard. That one Instruction of Saint *Peter* may alone suffice for this point: * *If ye suffer for well doing, happy are ye, for hereunto are yee called, because Christ suffered for us, leaving us an Example, that ye should follow his steps.* Here is as much as need be said, Our *Vocation* whereunto we are called, is to be Souldiers of Christ; our *Warfare* is by suffering; our *Example* is our *Generall*, who suffered for us; our *Victory* is,

*1 Pet. 2. 21

is, as his was, the conquering of the world by an innocent death; our end is Blessednesse, for so it is said, *Happy are ye*, &c. Vpon which Contemplation we are bold to affirme, that we have all this by the *Covenant of Baptisme*, (the Epitome of Christian Religion) which appeareth to differ as much from the *Covenant of violent Resistance*, for Religion, as *Doing Resistance*, and *Suffering*; as *Vocation* and *Transgression*; as *Happinesse* and *Damnation*.

It will be worth the while, to consider the *Good of Persecution*, for the profession of the true *Christian Religion*. The first is that *Miraculous Good*, which experience of the sufferings of the *Primitive Martyrs* hath brought forth, according to that saying, *Sanguis Martyrum semen Ecclesiæ*; when the more the Christians were *Massacred*, the more they *increased*: and to work a *Multiplication* of Christians, out of the *destruction* of Christians, is not this Miraculous?

Another Good, wrought by God through Persecution, is a *vertuous and spiritual Good*, not only by way of *Purging* the Soule, but even by a *Spirituall power* of Christian Warfare; Saint *Peter* speaketh of the first, when he compareth

*1 Pet. 1.7. Perſecution to *Triall by fire*, and the operation thereof to a *Purging, as gold is purged*. And thus we may ſay, that thereby the ſoule of a Chriſtian is *purged* from the droſſe of Hypocriſie, and of carnall Security. But our Diſcourſe is of a *Spirituall Warfare*, and ſuch are our *Enemies*, *Eph. 6. 12. **We fight not againſt fleſh and blood, but againſt*, &c. And ſuch are our weapons, *1 Cor. 10. 4. **The weapons of our warfare are not carnall*. And *2 Tim. 4. 7 ſuch our *fight*, **I have fought a good fight*, ſpeaking of his manifold Afflictions. And ſuch is our *Victory* againſt all worldly force, even in ſuffering for the faith of Chriſt, as is ſignified *1 Ioh. 5. 4. by that ſaying of S. *Iohn*, **This is the victory which hath overcome the world, even your faith*. And indeed this particular vertue and Spirituall Good is graphically ſet out by the Apoſtle, *Epheſ. 6.* in the *Panoplie* and Ipirituall furniture of a Chriſtian Souldier: for, without that, the luſtre of Spirituall Graces could not be glorious; not the *Girdle of verity*, which we profeſſe, nor the *Breſt-plate of righteouſneſſe*, and ſincerity of a good Conſcience; nor the *Sword of the Spirit*, which is an Animoſity in profeſſing the ſame Truth; nor the *Shield of faith*, which without perſecution ſeemeth

outwardly conſpicuous ſometime in an Hypocrite; nor the *Helmet of ſalvation*, which is Hope, by a conſtant endurance of death in deſpight of the world, which is Chriſtian Conqueſt it ſelfe.

Let not the Conſpirators ſay now (as they "have done) that *They who will not now take* "*up Corporall Armes, for defence of their Religi-* "*on, they endanger their owne Soules; and they* "*are but worldly men; they are Gallio's, not caring* "*for theſe things; they are like Feſtus, holding* "*difference of Religion to be but certaine queſti-* "*ons, &c.* For I ſhall aſk them but two Queſtions, One, whether They, who preach *Suffering* for Religion, rather then to *Rebell* againſt Soveraignty; or They that cry, *Arma virumque*, to preſerve their *bodies*, be the more *Spirituall*, and Conſequently more *Religious*?

Next, I demand, If that Primitive Chriſtians (who were innumerable) had turned *worldly Souldiers*, how ſhould they have become thoſe *Souldiers of Chriſt*, in remembrance of whom the Church glorieth in her praiſes, and glorifying of Chriſt, chanting and ſinging, *The noble Armie of Martyrs praiſe thee!* For, I hope, they will not dare to put on the Ro-

miſh face; as to ſay they of the Primitive Church *Reſiſted not, becauſe they Wanted Force*; whereof ſomething is to be ſaid by and by.

In the Interim, I would be rightly underſtood in this Diſcourſe; My Theme is directly againſt their pretence of *hoſtile Weapons* for *Defence of Religion*: For though (to ſpeake in the Generall) it be lawfull for one Kingdome to defend it ſelfe from the Invaſion of another Kingdome, for Religion-ſake, where they are *paris juris*: yet not here, where the Condition of *Subiects* to the *Higher Powers* is conſidered. Againe, If ſuch a Caſe (as hath beene knowne) be propounded, when the King or State ſhall give Forts and Caſtles to ſome Subjects, for to defend and ſecure their profeſſion of Religion, I may ſay, theſe Cautions fight not at all with my former Concluſion, grounded upon the divine *Canon* of [*Omnis Anima.*] I cannot ſufficiently diſcharge my Taske, except I may be permitted to deliver three *Briefs* (that I may ſo call them.) 1. A *Briefe Confirmation* of the former Doctrine by Antiquity. 2. A *Briefe Conteſtation*, in behalfe of Proteſtants. 3. A *Briefe Application* to the Perſons, who are now engaged.

1. The

1. The ancient *Catholike Church*, and *Mother* of all Churches Christian, ought also to be acknowledged our blessed Nurse, from whom we may suck the most pure and *wholsome milke*, which the innumerable multitudes of *Martyrs*, *Confessors*, and *Professors* did; who, notwithstanding the 300. yeeres persecution for Religion, never used, or professed any *forcible defence*.

To this our Romish Adversaries, in behalfe of their *Parricides*, shape us a briefe Answer, to wit, that the *Martyrs*, who suffered for Christ, *did want force of armes* to resist; which their Answer they* themselves knew to be as false, as they would have it seeme to be true: because they could not be ignorant that divers *Apologies* were then made, in the name of all Christians, unto those persecuting Emperours, to remove from them all iealousie and suspition of disloyaltie, principally by this Reason, that they having warlike power enough, yet held it a part of *Christian Religion* not to make any *forcible resistance*. *Tertullian* in his Apologie beginneth with an *Absit*! *God forbid* (saith he) *that the Christian profession should revenge it selfe by humane force, although there can be no war made against us*

*Bellar. l. 5. de Pontif. c. 7. & 4. Alan. in his moderate defence, and others commonly.

*Tert. Apol. 37.

but we are fit and sufficient for it, if we would seek revenge of our Persecutors: nor should we suffer our selves to be slaine, unlesse that our Christian discipline and profession, were rather to be slaine than to slay. So He. Saint Cyprian expressed the same Christian profession; *Not to seek revenge against unjust violence, but to leave that to God: Although (saith he) our people be excessive in number, &c.* Greg. Nazianzene expostulateth thus against the persecuting Heathen, *Who is there of you all, whose life any of our people have endangered, albeit otherwise boyling with heat and anguish.* Saint Ambrose, when the Emperor invaded his Kyrk, and the people were ready to make rescue, so farre as that the Invaders could not have sustained their force; *I restrained them* (saith Saint Ambrose;) *for prayers and teares are my Armour, and I neither ought nor may make other resistance.* In a word, the universall Christian Resolution was proclamed in these words; *Precamur, Auguste, non resistimus*; which Resolution of *not-Resisting* our Saviour confirmed, when he allowed his *Disciples* not so much as any outward Buckler, excepting onely *[*Fuga*] *Flight from one City to another*: which is, by consequence, *Flie*; and therefore, not *Resist*.

Cyprian. ad Demetriad. *Nos læsos divina ultio defendet: inde est, quod nemo nostrum se adversus injustam violentiam, quamvis nimius & copiosus sit noster populus, ulciscatur.*

*Greg. Naz. Orat. 1. in Julian.

*Ambros. lib. 5. Epist. ad Auxent.

*Mat. 10. 23.

And

And, for the integrity of Subiection and true Loyalty, *Arnobius* was bold to compare Christians with all the heathen Subiects, even in the dayes of Persecution, in the name of the Catholike Church of Christ, in the point of true Loyalty; *Vos conscios timetis, Nos conscientiam.* That is, in true sence, *You Gentiles performe your subiection, onely for feare your disloyalty should be knowne of others: but we Christians feare lest our Conscience should accuse us before God.* Arnob. con. Gen. tes.

We may seale up this truth with the Confession of three learned Romanists. **The Christians* (saith one) *did not abstaine from violence against their Persecutors, because they wanted force.* Another, * *It is not to be read, for two hundred years after Christ, that Christians used any forceible Resistance against their persecuting Emperours, though they were equall in strength: Yea, Christians then held, that hereby they did prove their religion to excell all others in the world, and thought themselues therefore to be called Christians of Christ, whose doctrine this was, to obey Magistrates.* A third, and so I have done. *Christian Martyrs* (saith he) *when, for multitude, they might easily have conspir'd against their cruell Persecutors, yet bore such honour to Kings and higher Powers, that they chose rather to* * Barclaius lib. 3. contra Monarchom. c. 5. * Tolossanus lib. 26. de repub. cap. 7. Cunerus de offic. princ. cap. 7.

dye

dye then to resist. And the Consequence will hold, that if there were an obligation in *Christians*, to professe subjection to *Heathenish Powers*, then are they tyed much more to be subiect to Christian Magistrates, seeing that (as the Romish Iesuite *Acosta* confesseth) *Omnes fatemur, & est per se certum, etiamsi Barbari ad Christum convertantur, eos tamen non Iure suo excidere.*

Acosta Iesuit. de Indor. salut. lib. 2. cap. 7.

The briefe of *Contestation*, in behalfe of Protestants, is an *Additionall*, which the Importunity of the *Conspirators* compell me unto, who * think they have the *Right hand of fellowship*, in this their *sinister cause*, with those who are accounted amongst Protestants, *Stellæ primæ magnitudinis*; *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Beza*: whom we shall desire to answer but this one Question, Whether they thinke it any-way lawfull for any Subjects to make *Resistance* against such their *Tyrannous Governours*? And we may heare *Calvin* answer, that **The Word of God teacheth, that howsoever it is that Governours be established, yet being once constituted, they are to be obeyed, although they do nothing lesse then that*

* See his Maiesties large Declaration; where the *Confessions* of all the *Reformed Churches* are alleaged against them: *Pag.* 4. and *Pag.* 75. where the Profession of the present Reformed Churches of *Geneva*, *Charenton*, and others, is avouched, in utter dislike of this *Scottish Covenant*, as being to them *Offensive*, and *Scandalous*, and of *dangerous Consequence* to Religion.

*Lib. 4. Inst. ca. 20. §. 22.

that which appertaineth to their office? and are to be held in the same honour and dignity (in respect of publike obedience) as if they were of the Best, So he, and, for example, he instanceth in *Nabuchodonosor*, whom God commanded his people to obey, albeit he was a most wicked and cruell *Tyrant*. Then applying this to all after times, he admonisheth all Subjects, *to have always this Example in their remembrance, to the end that they may thereby extrude all seditious fancies out of their mindes.* And, for a better impression, *This reverend and pious affection* (saith he) *we are continually to bear to them, whatsoever they themselves be; because (which I do (saith he) again and again repeat) they carry that person upon them by the will of God, whereon God hath imprinted and ingraven an inviolable Majestie,* So he.*

* As for *Luther*, methinks the Conspirators should stand to their own Collection out of *Luther*, in his determination of this Question; *Whether it were lawfull for the Germanes to resist the unjust violence of the Emperour?* And his Resolution is, *They may:* but mark his Reason; *Because his authority is limited by a joynt power of the Princes Electors & others* (saith *Luther*) *it differeth from the Monarchicall Government, such as is that of France and England.* And will any Scottish have *Scotland* go for lesse? *Beza* also teacheth it to be *The duty of every man to suffer injury, and to know that there is no other remedy for those that are subject unto Tyrants, but prayers and tears, and amendment of life.* Adding, that in this Case, *A privatis hominibus non multum absunt inferiores Magistratus.* Beza Confess. fidei.

III. A brief Application.

THe necessity of the matter exacteth of me the Heads, which are to be mentioned, and the proportion of a *Sermon* commandeth me not to exceed. Cankred *jealousie*, the Stepdame of *Vnity* and *Verity*, hath so transported these *Conspirators*, that they have all this while laboured, by Arguments taken from the Condition of *Impious*, *Irreligious*, and *Tyrannous Kings*, to justifie their *Rebelliousnesse* against the Mirror of Morall *Vertuousnesse*, the Lamp of *Religiousnesse*, and Miracle of *Clemency* and *Patience*: besides, (in Morality) his *Wisedom*, *Temperance*, *Charity*, *Iustice*, *Conjugall fidelity*. Each of which radiant and excellent Vertues, if they were in any one eminently, would greatly enoble him in the estimation of all good men. Now all these being conspicuous in this One, what but black malice can cast a Cloud upon such brightnesse? But to return to the Points in question.

The principall Oppositions they here make, are an Empeachment of their *Liberty* and *Religion*. Where could ever that Exclamation more

justly

justly have place, *Prob hominum fidem!* They will grant (I dare say) that his Royall Father, our late gracious Soveraign King JAMES of blessed memory, did deserve, before any other Prince, in his time, the title and sweetest of Posies, REX PACIFICUS; of which the Orator said, *Dulce quidem nomen Pacis, res verò ipsa longè jucundissima.* But our King, having inherited this his Fathers Vertue, hath so improved it by his *Clemency*, in publishing a late *Proclamation*, with such conditions of *Peace* and *Graciousnesse* towards these *Conspirators*, as may (if Comparison should be made) put all former ages to silence, and be an astonishment to all Posterity.

2. We have referred the Contemplation of *Religion* to the last place, to the end it may be more lasting in the memory of the Hearer, concerning a Prince so *Religious* in himself, that if we shall call him *The most Religious of Kings*, what King could take exception? And then so favourable towards the *Conspirators* themselves, as to yeeld unto them whatsoever *They have called Religion*, excepting onely the *extruding of Episcopacy*; which nothing but *Ignorance*, *Irreligiousnesse*, and *Heresie* can con-

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denn, as Unlawfull. Volumes might be written in the Justification of it; I will Epitomize all that I might say hereof in one sentence of S. *Hierome* (a Father who wrote sparingly of the dignity thereof) who speaking of the Apostles times, saith, that it was then instituted, * *Vt capite constituto Schismata tollerentur*. That is, That a *Bishop* being made an *Head* in his *Diocesse*, *Schismes*, which are ingendred in *Parity*, might be removed for the time past, and prevented for the future. But how now? *Episcopacy* by these *Conspirators* must be taken away, although two most pernicious Vipers shall take life by this their *Resistance*, *Schisme* in the *Church*, and *Sedition* in the *Common-wealth*.

* Hieron.

The God and Lord of Hosts, who hath in his hands the hearts of Kings and Subjects, still incline our Soveraign to Love and Graciousnesse; and Those his Subjects to Remorse and Thankfulnesse; and crown this his Expedition with an honourable, dry, and peaceable Victory, for his Sonne Iesus Christs sake! To whom be all glory, praise and thanksgiving, now, and for ever. *Amen.*

FINIS.